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III. TANALA ABORIGINES

173 563 Most of the Tanala clans claim to have originated either in the plateau or on the coast but there are two gentes of the Menabe, the Teroandrika in the south and the Zanakanony in the north, whom the others believe to be aboriginal. At the present time neither of these has a definite territory, their members living scattered in the villages of the other clans. They have intermarried until there are no full-blooded individuals left and have adopted the culture of the other Tanala, but there are some curious and suggestive traditions in regard to them. The Teroandrika are said to have been very short and of slight build, like undeveloped boys. They were dark [142] brown, almost black in color and had short, kinky hair, round faces and round staring eyes. The peculiarity of the eyes seems to have been their most striking feature, for three different informants mentioned it first in describing them. They seem to have been in a low stage of culture, but the only thing clearly remembered is that they had no *fady* ("taboos").

[142] The Zanakanony in the north were also short but taller than the Teroandrika, perhaps five feet to five feet four inches. They were light brown with long wavy or at most curly hair and were heavily muscled, with thick chests, broad shoulders, and heavy thighs and calves. Their waists, wrists, knees and ankles were slender. One informant said that they "were built like Frenchmen." When other clans entered the northern territory they found the Zanakanony living in caves. They built no houses except leaf shelters "like those the Tanala build when they have to spend a night in the forest." They had no metal, shaping their wooden implements with flakes of quartz crystal. These were made by holding a large crystal on end and striking the top with a round river boulder until it cracked into pieces lengthwise. The best fragments were chosen, used until blunted, and then thrown away. Naturally rough stones were used for grinding and polishing. They had neither the blow gun nor the bow. Their only weapons were spears made from the wood of the *Lambinana* or the *Anivona*, a species of palm. These spears were not barbed but might have two or more points if they could find a stick that forked properly. They also made forked spears by splitting the end of the stick with stone wedges and binding it below the split with vines, a technique still employed in making fish spears (Fig. 2, d). They made fire with a bamboo fire saw, although all the other clans made it with the firedrill. Informants were uncertain whether they

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practised agriculture or had domestic animals but agreed that they were primarily hunters and food gatherers. They had neither chiefs nor slaves and had no gens *fadys* but spoke a language intelligible to the other Tanala. The present Zanakanony have adopted the *fady* of the Zafiakotry gens, which prohibit the killing or eating of the wild boar and the smoking of hemp. Also, when their women marry men of other gentes, they specify that the husband must not injure any of the mats or baskets in the house, for these are the woman's exclusive property.

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The details just given were obtained from several different informants who agreed in all important points and I do not believe that they were invented. The description of the manufacture of stone implements in particular must have a basis of observation, for the Tanala themselves claim to have used iron since very ancient times. If true, the traditions point to the presence in Madagascar of a group which was still culturally in the old stone age. This is of great importance, for no stone implements other than a few hammer stones, rubbing stones and drill weights of types still in use have been reported from the island. Moreover, the physical type of this paleolithic group and their use of the fire saw would seem to link them with Indonesia rather than the neighboring African mainland.

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to become hereditary, the ablest of a deceased chief's sons being chosen to succeed him. The *Anakandriana* usually held office for life, but could be deposed for misconduct. 618

The *Anakandriana* was in no sense a king and his establishment differed little from that of other well to do natives. He seems to have had no special insignia of office and I could learn of no taboos governing his conduct or that of the other members of the gens in dealing with him. No taxes were paid to him. In some gentes he received a part of fines levied on criminals, but this was not universal. His duties were to act as arbitrator in disputes between villages and as a court of last appeal in serious criminal cases, especially those involving sentence of death. 618 693

After the Zafiakotry conquered the neighboring gentes their *Anakandriana* was recognized as a king, *Mpanzaka*. At first he seems to have been chosen by the gens alone, like any other *Anakandriana*. Later he was chosen by the *Anakandriana* of all the gentes, the only prerequisite for office being that he must belong to the Zafiakotry gens. Still later the royal power was strengthened and it became possible for the king to nominate his successor. The king Rainilevola had children by eight of his wives and before his death indicated the succession for twelve places. Lemangivy, a son, was designated to succeed him, then Iovana, a daughter, then Raindriamanava, a son, and after him nine other sons. The mother of Raindriamanava was of *ndevo* caste, but his right to the succession was never questioned. During the reign of Queen Iovana he was the most influential man in the kingdom. He never became king because the French abolished the office. 643

I was unable to get any coherent account of the exact powers and functions of the Menabe kings, or of their regalia, or of the ceremonies performed when they were inducted into office. No two informants were in agreement on these points and apparently they had never become formalized. The kingdom was short lived and constantly subject to Imerina influences.

THE IKONGO

The political organization of the Ikongo cannot be understood without some knowledge of their history. In the earliest period their territory was occupied by many politically independent gentes which were probably similar to those of the Menabe in their organization and government. Later at least two gentes of foreign origin forced their way into the region, partly displacing the aborigines. At first 174 563

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174 the invaders lived in compact gentile groups, but in time certain
563 families or lineages left the gens territory and settled among the aborigines, seizing control. These small ruling groups kept touch with their parent gens for a time and relied on it for support, but they intermarried with their subjects and fused with them racially and culturally. Their descendants in the male line came to constitute a noble caste with representatives in all the groups. Although these nobles claimed a common origin and were jealous of their social privileges they no longer considered themselves as a political unit. Although they would assist each other if the commoners rose against them, they frequently fought among themselves, leading their followers of aboriginal stock against each other. Even in such wars they still recognized the blood bond to the extent that it was taboo for a commoner to kill the enemy king, although a noble would do so without hesitation (see Warfare).

621 Apparently there were many Ikongo villages which did not include lineages of *hova* ("noble") caste. Even when they were present their influence was not preponderant in local affairs. The village government [622] was essentially the same as the Menabe. There was an elected chief, usually not a noble, who acted as executive, and a *Fokonolona* ("council"). Each gens had a chief called the *Mpanzaka* who was 618 elected from the members of the *hova* caste. Prerequisites for the 565 office were the same as for the Menabe *Anakandriana*. The *Mpanzaka* was chosen by the village chiefs and *Notables* of the entire gens, irrespective of caste, and could be deposed at will. Associated with him were one or more officials called *Anakandriana*, who were elected on the same basis and in the same way as the *Mpanzaka*, but must be of *vahoaka* ("common") caste. Theoretically the *Anakandriana* acted as counselors and executives, but actually they often seem to have had as much power as the *Mpanzaka*, who was unable to remove them from office. The whole arrangement strongly suggested a dual chieftainship.

631 Kingdoms arose, as among the Menabe, through one gens acquiring
[643] domination over others. The king, also called *Mpanzaka*, was chosen from among the *hova* of the dominant group. Like 618 the gens chiefs, he was assisted by elected *Anakandriana* whom he could not dismiss. These *Anakandriana* might be chosen from any 646 gens within the kingdom, but were always of *vahoaka* caste. Usually all gentes were represented among them and they formed a sort of permanent council with a sharp check on the conduct of the *Mpanzaka*. They exercised executive functions and continued in office